ENGLANDS

# APOLOGY,

for Its late

# CHANGE:

OR,

## A SOBER PERSWASIVE,

Of all Disaffected or Dissenting persons, to a Seasonable ENGAGEMENT, for the Settlement of this

## COMMON-WEALTH.

D 1563

Drawne from

{The Workings of Providence.} {The State of Affaires.} {The danger of Division.}

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Impartiall Reader

I Intend not to make a Preface that may ſwallow up this ſhort Treatiſe; Epiſtles are commonly but the clogges, and burthens of Bookes, and expreſſe little more then the Title page. Others have ſpoke enough to the argumentative part of our Affaires, and have proved by reaſon what God hath acted by providence; this diſcourſe is rather directed to the conſciences, then the fancies of men, and may ſerve as a ſerious memoriall of what God hath done for us, and an aviſo to men in their raſh, and bitter cenſures, that this ſtate and change, which though

*it be new, that it may not seeme strange, God hath ushered it in with the greatest ceremonies of providence, and put extraordinary characters of his presence and glory in it. I have no more to trouble thee with, but the reading of it, which yet may be profitable, if not perswasive, which is the end of the discourse.*

# ENGLANDS APOLOGY FOR ITS LATE CHANGE

THough it is not probably to be expected that any argument or reason should be forcible to perswade the hearts of men, when so many wonderfull providences, and glorious appearances of God have made no impression, or that words should prevaile, where things are undervalued. Yet because every Christian ought to endeavour to make his owne heart, and others sensible of publique miseries or mercies, and seeing the intent of this discourse is to unite, not divide, and that it is high time to leave off quarrelling with persons, and actions, it is possible this paranetick may not be in vaine, if either the miseries of a civill warre (which hath almost ruin'd this Nation) or the horror of dead carkasses lying alwayes in our way; if the cry of bloud, which hath been powred out, not from one, but every veine of this Nation; if the desolation, of Townes, and Cities, the mournings of widdowes, and Orphanes in every corner, the mischiefe of factions, and divisions in our own families; if lastly, the effectuall workings of the very finger of the Almighty if all or any of these were fit to work on our affections, to thirst after a settlement of this State, and to perswade men to acquiesce in what God hath done for this Nation, and to comply with the Parliament in securing this Common-wealth, wee needed no paper-exhortation, and this might well have been spared. But its to be feared, and lamented, that Gods workes among us,

as his Word hath had different, and ſometimes contrary effect, ſome are hardened under the diſpenſations, others ſoftned, and that moſt of this Nation are under a judiciall blindneſſe, and ſtupidity, which will hardly be remedied, but by the ruine of this generation, who have ſo highly provoked God, in oppoſing his great deſignes in the latter dayes; for though God hath walked up and downe in garments of bloud for this almoſt ten yeares, and hath not ſpared the fleſh of Princes, and great men, and hath ſhewed himſelfe directly againſt that royall party which at firſt began theſe miſerable warres, and ſhewed forth moſt eminently his indignation againſt that perſon, and family, with all that have adhered to them, yet (which is moſt ſad) not onely are their hearts hardned, and their necks ſtiffe againſt the Lords work, but in any who acted at firſt with vigour and vehemency againſt that party, have turned their faces, and have been of late the moſt dangerous oppoſers of this Parliament and Army, and are become the hopes of the common enemy, yea many loſt in prejudices, and diſcontent, have wholly eſpouſed others, are courting that intereſt, as if they would unravell all theſe lines of providence, whereby wee have been bleſſedly led into a Common-wealth; And like the children of *Iſrael* would rather turne back to eate Garlick and Onions, under *Pharoahs* bondage, then be led by providence under the conduct of *Moſes*, though to *Canaan*.

It is from theſe ſecret quarrells and murmurings, and diſaffections (among godly men) (which have though they had their firſt riſe from private animoſities,) yet they have been formed, and aggravated by cloſe, and ſubtile enemies) from theſe are the foundations of our ruine, and of our enemies deſignes, and hopes, who (while wee are diſcontented among our ſelves, for trifles) are preparing engins to cut us off both at once, many eſſays have been uſed to that end, which had not God from heaven diſappointed, had tooke effect ere this, and occaſioned the ſad repentance of the miſtaxen actors.

And doubtleſſe, among all the hardſhips this Parliament and Army hath gone through, either in oppoſing the com-

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mon enemy, or working out their owne distempers, they have met with nothing more sad, and dangerous, then the slightings, and disrespects of these, who were once, and should be still friends; who have but one, and the same common enemy still, how ever wee may subdivide into severall parties, rather by the delusion of names, then reality of difference.

But its better to bewaile these distempers with our teares, then expresse them; my intent is not to open our wounds, but to cast in some Balme to heale them; wee have too long been petting, and objecting, while God hath been acting, and doing us good, without our observance, or notice; the great designe of this paper is but to minde us what God hath done for us, to presse all honest hearts to an improvement of our mercies, with sence of the worth of them; And to perswade honest, and inquiring men to a compliance in time with this Common-wealth, least they come to unite with the common enemy, who is yet acting in both Nations, in one more visibly, to ruine us by our divisions.

Its worthy consideration what wee have been doing all this while, and why we are disquieted with the present State, seeing these things have been brought forth among us, which have not been the events of long contrived plots, but of speciall administrations of Gods wisdome, and respect to this Nation, and meerely acted by God, beyond the policy, and engagements of the wisest men; yea the whole series of workings in these affaires hath been demonstrative, that it was not of men, nor of their wills, but of Gods. And how ever particular observances may judge of things, yet if the whole be viewed, and the harmony of every part in this great worke, all dissenters must needs have their consciences under conviction, while their intereſts are unsatisfied.

Let us take a short account onely, for to helpe our memories of our first principles, and Gods actings, to improve them, and wee shall see that few of us have eyed what wee first undertooke, or what God hath (beyond our thoughts) done for us.

Our first principle wee acted from, and from which wee

ſtated our Cauſe (from which wee had then no diſſenters but Malignants) was to bring Delinquents to condigne puniſhment, (who had abuſed this State by the Royall Conſent, and Authoritie) and to oppoſe the tyranny of the King, and flattery of the Courtiers. A principle large enough to worke on, and to take in by conſequences of affaires the utmoſt improvement; upon this ground all the Parliamentary party acted together, (not being able to ſee, or hope for any thing more then a reformation) (and that of the groſſeneſſe of actings) and ſo firme were wee in this, that wee never changed our thoughts, untill the delayes in warre, and the influences of the Court, together with wearied, and neutrall friends, and the thoughts of places and preferments, made men to ſtudy new wayes of compliances, and to leave the firſt principle for the preſent enjoyments. But God (who overruleth the counſells of men, and had a further deſigne) will not ſuffer ſo good a beginning to make a fatall end. And according to his uſuall way, from ſmall beginnings brings forth his greateſt glory, acting things beyond our firſt thoughts, or deſignes. The King was firſt oppoſed univerſally in his perſonall capacity, and reſerv'd in his publique, in theſe who fought againſt him, this went downe currant, and without any demurre among us; and upon this wee waged warre; but God (who ſtill meant to carry on a higher deſigne) keepes us equall and faire for a long while together, now giving the advantage to us, now to him, ſtill making drawne battailes, (while there was a leſſer piece of royalty oppoſing a greater) owning the Cauſe ſo farre as not to diſcountenance that ſide he meant to honour at the laſt; but no effectuall worke was done, but honourable retreats, and dayes of thankſgiving for non-routing, and ſecurity, rather then for any victory wee ever had over the Kings party, except eſpecially that of *Marſton-Moore*, (wherein the chiefe inſtruments of the new modell were agents) (which was ſoone recruited) and ballanſt by our own parties negligence in the South, and their diligence over their affaires. God kept all this while a kinde of equalitie, perſons were engaged of different tempers, not of different

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principles, and it had been well (for all our reports then at *London*,) that wee kept our ground, into such straits wee were then brought, (though wee seemed to have a great and potent Army,) that nothing could serve in the view of the whole Parliament, but a wise disbanding that Army, and framing a new Modell, (which was a cause of strange necessitie at that time) and a hopefull way of our ruine by many, even in Parliament, who gave their votes for it out of another end, who are since discovered) but it hath since proved the ordinance of God. This is the poore Army that the great repinings and discontents are made from: This Army, which hath been preserved by Gods right hand, who have done that work which is wonderfull to relate) against this Army all the arrowes of malice and designe are shot, to wound either their persons or names; It's sad to think that our eyes should be evill, because Gods is good; that wee should repine at instruments, when God doth the work? let us as men that would faine see into Gods wayes, consider what hath been done since that change, what a continued continuation of providences (I might say miracles, if they had not some meanes to produce them) have wee had since that despised modell. The thoughts of these things are only repeated for our conviction: There are two things very remarkable in these affaires since our first engaging against the late King (each of which shall have their due consideration.)

First, That all our affairs were hardly kept in *equilibrio*, in a faire and right correspondency untill this new Modell; but that the King got more ground by his influence, then we by our Armies; the Armie under the Lord of Essex, being a petty Royall Armie, made up of all sorts of humours and Confederates of either side, rather kept the Parliaments credite, then gave them any use for their money: and we never had a battle fought by him; but we came off, and that barely, and with losse as well as the King.

2. That never since this poore, (at first despised, though now envied Army) was modell'd, we never either received a considerable losse or check in our proceedings, though the action

action of this Army hath been in three Nations, and accompanyed with miſerable diſcouragements from all parties, and difficulties, that other Nations would have thought inſuperable, and ſo acted, that nothing but God hath viſibly appeared: It cannot, it muſt not be forgotten, it will be written in marble (if not in our hearts) and the place it ſelfe will be made immortall to all poſterity) the firſt teſtimony of God to the firſt action of this Army at *Naſeby*, when all Politicians were ſecuring of themſelves; and our wiſeſt friends fearing what the iſſue would be, and the royall power at the greateſt height, and going on in the fulleſt carrere, what a glorious turne was there given to the deſignes of the Enemie, and reviving to the hopes of this Nation; God never before ſo peculiarly, and in our low condition owning his poor people; and ever ſince God ſet up his Standard there, he hath made bare his arme, and never ſuffered one eminent, nay hardly any defeat to be given to this Army, making that the earneſt of the Conqueſt of Gods Enemies in theſe three Nations, whereas in all our former Battails, we could never ſay we had a victory (except ſome ſpeciall formerly named) which had their recruits very ſoone) from this time (I ſay) as if God had the idea of this Armie in his eye, and had with his owne hands framed the modell of it, and culling out the Army he meant to bleſſe; hee hath ever uninterruptedly afforded his preſence, though the difficultyes, and multitude of Enemies have been more then could be expected, or then ever Armie under-went, who ſerved a State in ſuch tranſactions. What eye cannot ſee the plots and contrivances, both of the common, and ſecret Enemies, how many wayes have been uſed to overthrow this Parliament and Army, and what humours have been predominant among themſelves to ruine that body: yet how ſtrangly, and beyond all mens thoughts, have they been carryed through; if we were delighted in viewing divine actings, or had a deſigne to make a Hiſtory to aſtoniſh all the world. Let us follow the Army from *Naſeby*, up and down *England*, at home; from thence after two Warres, the ſecond more dangerous then the firſt, being upon more cunning pretences,

ces, and made out of our divisions among our selves, and especially levelled against the Parliament, and Armie, a war that divided the Armie, as well as the first confiding instruments; yet with what wonder of glory did God break forth their deliverance; for after God had helped them to drive the K. into the *Scots Armie* (a presage of his sons reserve) new Insurrections are in the most speciall Counties round about the Parliament, which first began more remote in *Wales*, that they might more insensibly supply the whole, and the designe might be thought more barbarous, and lesse considerable, while stronger and more effectuall influence were operating nigher hand, yet this poor Army must through all; the Generall in *Kent* and *Essex*, the Lieut. Generall in *Wales*, and Major-Generall *Lambert* in the *North*, having all their hands full, and the *Scots* under *Hamilton*, when the conjunction of *Langdale*, and the old Malignants, making up the harmony of malignancy, though in a discord: No sooner had our now worthy Generall ordered the affairs of *Wales*, but new work was provided for him. In the *North* Major General *Lambert* had long expected him; and though he had by his wisdome and valour kept his own ground, yet the Enemie (who grew like a snow-ball by going) got mighty advantages: and taking their way through *Lancashire*, a place they thought good Quarters for their Army, as to find capable and zealous Subjects for their design: but God (who ever appears in the best opportunity) to shew forth his continuall displeasure against any conjunction with the royall party, upon what pretence sover,) brought up then Lieut. Generall *Cromwell* to joyne with the Major Generall, who both with all their Forces, could not make a third part of the Army they were to encounter withall; but God so appeared, that they routed that vast Army, which carryed with them the higheſt designe, and had more advantages of power, and plea, then any Army of such a mould that ever came into *England*.

What can be more immediatly from God then such overtures; will God justifie the wicked so positively, and perpetually against the godly (and that by his owne power, not only

only by permission.) Is there nothing in these affairs can take our hearts? Doth God doe strange and unexpected things for to be dis-respected? Let any Nation shew a parallell, and not draw such conclusions as we now draw. It's true, (and it must be one cause of our daily humiliation) that we have not answered God in our duties, sutable to those manifestations; but yet the neglect on our parts should not annihilate, or darken the glory of God in his owne actings, but rather shame us, and heighten Gods goodnesse unto us, who is so in love with *Englands* liberties, that our unworthinesse, & unsutableness cannot stop him in his course of grace, and mercy. Let us, if wee must needs take our prejudices, and satisfie them as to all Gods actings in *England*: yet when we look on *Ireland*, and it's sad condition before, and how, and when restored, and by what instruments, and then let malice act to the utmost, if there be but a spark of honesty, or any glance of a spirituall eye left, and we must needs stand amazed, though discontented at Gods goings with these whom we despise; How have we cryed out against these bloudy rebells (as wee had just cause) for how many yeares were monethly publique fasts throughout the Nation kept for poore *Ireland*? (besides all the private unknowne bleeding of the soules of many Saints in corners) and yet no fruit considerable that wee could call an Answer, untill God appeared by himselfe (when this Army was on the Sea-side in readinesse to be transported) and in what a manner, and method of miracles, God hath appeared, there is not to be expresst at a distance: God gave in the first wonder at *Dublyn* by that ever to be honoured, Coll. *Jones*, ere the Army came over, that they might not have their flesh and bloud too much discouraged, both at home, and abroad, and yet would have them ready ere he began, that they might improve, and finish it.

What of designe had the Parliament in this Expedition, to divide their Army, which was so small at home, among so many enemies, or what hopes could that part of the Army have to encourage them to leave their owne Nations without God had moved them; when they lay at the water side?

ſide ready for a winde to ſaile from their owne Nation, where God had made them ſo proſperous againſt the common enemy, and to leave all their friends, and to arrive at a Nation, wholly engaged and enraged againſt them, and but two Townes, *Dublyn* and *Derry*, that were left as receptacles of them, on earneſts of hopes, and theſe both beſieged by farre more then the full Number of this Army could Muſter, and yet how willingly did they goe, and how gloriouſly did God appeare, making a whole Nation, both of bloudy rebells, and royall Malignants, to be overthrowne by them, not ſuffering them to give them one defeate, though they had multitudes of advantages, and in one yeare almoſt to reduce that Nation to a new obedience: and were that Hiſtory of *Ireland* well printed, how farre would it exceed all the Relations of its firſt Conqueſt by this Nation, when little elſe ſave ambition of domination, and of enlarging our power, not to execute Gods righteous judgements againſt bloud-thirſty men, did put them upon endeavouring the Conqueſt of that Nation.

What of fleſh and bloud can be demonſtrated to be predominant in theſe tranſactions, but love, and zeale, in the inſtruments, to free the Proteſtant party from further cruell miſeries by the Popiſh, and royall party there, (who became ſoone one) & power from God to back theſe undertakings. Are wee ſorry becauſe God imployes not theſe inſtruments that ſuite with our particular humors, and ſtated intereſts? is the worke of God the leſſe to be eyed, becauſe he uſeth deſpicable, and poore inſtruments? or moves beyond our Modell? the generations to come, will remember theſe things, and take them in, though we, thorough the clouds, made by the vapours of our owne engagements, and factions, ſee little in them: *Irelands* Proteſtants will doubtleſſe keepe a Chronicle of theſe acts, and bleſſe God for the inſtruments when they are entombed in the bloud of the enemies of the Goſpel, and who knowes, but *Ireland*, who hath never yet ſoild the Goſpel, but have been under the ſad perſecutions for the little light they had in it, and have not yet extracted factions and diviſions out of Gods mercies, to advantage

the common and watchfull enemy.

If *Irelands* wonders will not make you in love with Gods actings, ( which was nothing else but the prosecution of the same cause beyond the Sea ) yet let the harmony and continuance of Gods appearances to owne this cause, and this Parliament in the three Nations ( the motions in each) deserve a particular History ) let the universall proportion of divine actings ( for I dare not call them otherwise pardoning mens infirmities ) be a confirmation of each other; for what ever the pretences and pleas have been either civill or sacred in *England*, *Ireland*, or *Scotland*, yet God hath drawne one line of providence thorough all, and given, an equall, and astonishing successe against every party, in each, which have but appeared against them. If wee passe by all the rest and come into *Scotland*, a priviledged place, and, one would think, holy ground, yet when once they came to dally with malignancy, and comply with the royall party, though they had the Temple of the Lord written in their foreheads, and the Covenant on the palmes of their hands, and used it as their Phylacteries, yet opposing this designe ( which God hath put into the Parliament to prosecute by their Armie, how hath God owned them in the face of their chiefe despisers. I am not now in kindling fire of dissention, (miserable man is he that lets fall a sparke willingly to contribute to this fire ) but to lay before honest and inquiring men, what reason wee have to stand and pause upon Gods actings, and mollifie our hearts by these continuall droppings.

God knowes with what heart that Expedition was undertaken, and with what little provision of outward advantages it was managed on our side; for after our March into the North, with so much leisure and delay, to see what overture might bee offered from heaven to prevent us, ( which was passionately longed for by the Generall and his Officers ) when wee came to the borders, and marcht thorough *Berwicke*, wee had not three dayes provision, nay not one day, neither could there either for love or money be obtained a present necessary supply, as if wee were

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rather going to visit our friends, and to helpe them, then to fight; and yet if all circumstances be duely weighed, Gods actings by this Army in *Scotland* are farther, and more glorious progresses of his wisdome and power in the same principle, and a clearer demonstration of Gods owning this Cause, then any which have been yet.

Let us consider first, whom God appeared against, not the *Irish* rebells, nor the absolute malignant party, but those who profest to walke under the shaddow, and protection of the Covenant, who were thought by all dissenters, not onely to be Patrons, but principalls of all reformation; a people who had onely profest opposition to this Parliament, and Army, and that for the most part in spirituall pretences, these who had first invented the names of shame and odium on the Army, as Sectaries, yea who had annihilated this Parliament, and its Authoritie, and set a King over them and this Nation, in the exactest *idea*; to which if wee adde the state of our Army among them, with their height and confidence, all the world must see that no power but of the Almighties, could have done it for us.

For our Army, (though they have had more opportunitie of action, which they delighted in) yet were they never brought to such extremities, to so low an ebbe, by both want of victualls, and all necessaries: neither have any former example of Gods appearing with them in *England* after such a manner; for though they were oftentimes fewer in number then their enemies, yet never reduced to such a disproportion, as at *Dunbarre*. In *England*, yea, and *Ireland*, they fought against Forts, and Bulwarkes, stout and perfect enemies; but there they fought against hunger, and cold, sickneſse, and diseases, and lost their naturall spirits, and strength, when they should have had most use of them. None can expresse the low condition they were in, their men falling sicke, and dying like rotten sheepe, their Horses hardly able to carry their riders, and yet were their beasts provided for better then themselves; the most part of their worke all the while they were in

*Scotland* untill the battell, was but a continuall march, from *Musselborough*, and *Penclan hils* unto *Dunbar* for neceſſary provisions; But that God (who hath ſtill done all for us) might exalt his owne name, and give a demonſtrative teſtimony not onely of his continuall preſence with them, but a ſign for unbelief; he brought them as low as it was ordinarily imaginable, and the enemy as high, and confident, as fleſh and bloud could make them; all relations of our neceſſities at that inſtant, with the circumſtances of it, can be but as the painting of hungry and ſtarved men, with a few open mouths, and pin'd faces; and on the contrary as the enemy had, by all the policy and ſtratagems of war endeavoured to bring them into this condition, by waving to fight them, ſo they then thought they had their end, and the bleſſed opportunity was inſtant; nothing elſe was expected but to have them all devoured at one morſell; and that they might not faile in their aſſurance, they made the covenant their word (then as formerly their pretence) as the infallible earneſt of a full victory, and ſome of their eminent Officers cal'd in ſcorne to ſome of our men, that now was the day come the Covenant ſhould be avenged of the Sectaries, and that their name ſhould be blotted out from the earth; thus did they triumph through the covenant, and play with that ſacred bond.

But that all good people may ſee at what a height of confidence, not onely the Army, but Kirk were attained unto, and how God appeared both againſt Eccleſiaſticall prophecies, and civill deſignes; I ſhall relate a ſtory of as great credit as wonder; on the ſame day this glorious mercy was wrought for us at *Dunbar*, one of the Miniſters of *Edenburgh* (I take it his name was *Hagoe*) was preaching to a great congregation in that City rayling on our Parliament, and Army, raiſing the expectations of the people for to expect ſome more then ordinary vengeance, and that from Heaven on them, and (like a falſe Prophet) told them to ſtand ſtill, and ſee the ſalvation of the Lord, and whereas he and his fellow Miniſters, had often told them of this Army, and of their wickedneſſe, and denounced the judgement of God

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on them, they should now see, and that (it may be) ere they went from that place, that God would confirme the words which he had so often spoken by the mouth of his Ministers to them concerning this cause, (for he knew in what straits we were, and what their hopes were that day, but he knew not the counsels of the Lord) Immmediately as he had finished his prophecy, or at least ere he had done his worke, God sends in some men that came from the battel, all bloody, and with sad countenances, which was seconded by fresh witnesses; all the congregation is amazed, the Minister silenc'd by his own mouth, and so trembling that he could not hold the Bible in his hand; and though there were some children to be baptized; yet he could not doe it, and thus abruptly left the Congregation, with horror for his false prophecy against Gods people.

This relation hath its confirmation from the *Scots* themselves, and multitude of hearers in *Edenburgh*, and it may well be believed without witnesse, if we knew the temper of most of the *Scots* Ministers, and how much given they are to such a method of prophecy; But the Gentleman might have considered that they had not the Kings malignant, or *Hamiltons* false Army to excommunicate; but an Army (I may say) formed, led, and helped by the Lord. What shall we say to these things, If God be for us, who can be against us? Its dangerous medling with those whom God ownes. Shall all these things be forgotten, and spilt as water on the ground, is there nothing of glory sparkling out through these manifestations, that may convince us of our opposition, and disaffection to these proceedings? It cannot be, but some men conquer their convictions, as the Army hath done malignant persons, who yet hate them because of their owne interests.

But to goe on, how gloriously hath God appeared ever since, while the enemy beyond the water have been studying with what solemnity to Crowne their King, God hath crowned our cause with many Diadems of his glory, and mercy; for after that Battel at *Dunbar*, and the strangeness of the issue contrary to all their faith, and assurances,

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and many who were accounted the honest party, begin to reflect on their former principles, and carriages, and having rallyed in the West, by their friends adde more strength, and remonstrate against the State for their tampering so much with the King, and their juglings among themselves, which they have largely expreſt in print, whereby they ſhow ſome ſence of Gods hand againſt them, yet nevertheleſſe, what ever thought they had of their owne party at home, they continued their enmity againſt us, and notwithſtanding all overtures made to ſupple their ſpirits, and improve theſe convictions, (which if truly weighed, are from the ſame principles with ours, and no more difference then of a *Scots* and *Engliſh* interpretation of the ſame thing) notwithſtanding all theſe faire, and cordiall affections we to the utmoſt expreſt to them, yet they cunningly watched their opportunities) Firſt, to ſlip into *England* (of which they were prevented; and then Secondly, to fall upon a part of our Army in their quarters, where God appeared againe, and both took their chiefe Leaders, and ſcattered their whole party; this great, and further appearance of God wants not its circumſtances to make it an eminent mercy, and to ſtrike deep into our ſpirits; for Firſt, they were the Army which had moſt of the hearts of the godly with them, as being ſeparated from the groſſneſſe of the royal principles, proteſting with more zeale and honeſty for the Kirkes intereſt, and ſo would have gained more then ordinary on mens ſpirits; and againe they had the great command in the *Weſt*, whereby they did great damage to our Army, and had advantages of ſtealing into *England*, both to withdraw part of our Army from them, and ſtirring up new fires among us, which would too ſoone have been effected by their Covenant pretences; beſides the manner of their overthrow is as remarkeable, (God ſtriving in all this war to leave ſignal characters of his own hand in every of our mercies) for when the Generall had marched a great way from *Edenborough* towards the Weſt, and ſent expreſſe orders to the Major Generall, to meet him without fail at ſuch a time in ſuch a place, where the Generall came according to his appointment with a great

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body of Horſe, and foot, they could not hear any newes of the Major Generals approach, the weather being ſo bad, and proviſions ſo ſcanty both for horſe and man; his Excellency was forced to march back with all his forces, and fruſtrate his own intentions; the Countrey people hearing of the Generals retreat, run to *Kerr* and his party, tell them of the eſtate of things, and how his Excellency was returnd to *Edenburgh*, and that Major Generall was left alone: *Kerr* ſeeing his advantage (which he had long waited for) preſently fals on his Quarters, promiſing himſelfe a full defeat of that party; But they being in readineſſe, received them valiantly with ſome few Troops, and quite routed him, and purſued and took, and ſhattered all his confidents, whereby we may ſee, how every deliverance, and victory, is circumſtantiated with ſome beame of peculiar glory and providence.

And if the delivery of *Edenborough* Caſtle, (that impregnable Fortreſſe) were added, and the manner of obtaining it, it would bring forth a new matter both for praiſe and conviction, but I intend not this for an exact hiſtory.

Thus it hath been from firſt to laſt, and every victory like one ſtar that differs from another in glory; and however there may be a difference between perſons, and parties, in reſpect of profeſſion or holineſſe, as there was between the Army under *Kerr*, and that under Lieut. General *Leſlye*, the former being more purged, and profeſſing of principles, with more zeale, and indeed we may juſtly call them a Sectarian Army, oppoſing, and divided from the publique proceedings of Kirke and State, yet they are all one looked on by God as to helpe, and proſperity, when they either with others or by themſelves have lifted up their hands againſt this cauſe, a conſideration which is not ſlightly to be rejected, and which may well make men wary of ſecond actings againſt them.

God hath yet made that good in theſe Nations, to this Common-wealth and Army (ſo farre as they have had ſincere intentions in the management of this warre) which he did once to *Iſrael*; *No weapon that is formed againſt thee, ſhall*

*ſhall proſper*; though carved, and whetted by the faireſt gloſſes, and religious inſtruments. Wee have hitherto in ſumme (and as *in tranſitu*) given the Reader an account of the ſeries of Gods workings for us, ſince he thought fit to make uſe of this Army againſt the common enemy. Let us now reflect with wonder, and aſtoniſhment at the dulneſſe of our apprehenſions and ſtrangeneſſe of the oppoſition and inward murmurings of many, otherwiſe obſervant, and godly, againſt this Common-wealth, and Army; for which God give us leave a little to expoſtulate with their ſpirits; with whom are you angry? who hath done all theſe things? is there nothing of the image of Gods mercy, power, and wiſdome written on any of theſe victories? could ſo ſmall a bulke of fleſh and bloud deſtroy ſuch potent Armies, ſtorme ſuch braſen walls, clime ſuch high places, with ſo little loſſe, if the Almightie had not ſeconded, and engaged his right hand with them? Theſe are farre from Rhetoricall, but they are reall expoſtulations? Are wee angry that God hath heard our prayers which wee ſo long time put up to him for ſubduing the common enemy, in the three Nations, or that he hath done his own worke without our mediums? What ſhall be ſaid, ſhall all theſe actions of Gods power in, and ſo much goodneſſe, be buryed in a diſcontented humour, and the glory of them blaſted by a deſigned prejudice? God forbid: the ages to come ſhall remember our inſenſibleneſſe with teares of bloud, and owne themſelves to be our children, as high raiſed up-ſtarts doe their poore parents, who bluſh when they are named.

But if any ſpirit be ſo ſleight as to ſay, all theſe are but events, and no proper declarations of the truth of a good principle, they being oftentimes occaſionall, and permiſſive by God to a bad as a good cauſe. I anſwer in generall, that its true, that commonly and ordinarily God keepes ſuch an even courſe in the univerſe, that all things fall alike to all, and the ſame event unto both the bad, and the good cauſe; thus God ſuffers it for a long time, for the hardening ſome, and deſtroying others, and to draw off the hearts of his from depending on theſe injoyments, or advantages in this world,

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yet at the same time he would not have his people put the right of their sufferings, or his enemies prosperity, on so large and indifferent a supposition, but to look into the Will of God in thus disposing of their states, and to find out the particular end of God to them in it.

But as there is a general and special providence of God in the World, so there are events sutable; these special Providences of God call on all men for serious observation, for in them God goes out of his ordinary course, and they do show either his special owning, or dis-respect, whether to a person or party, and are often distinctions of the truth of Principles and Actings; and if there were nothing to be seen of God more by these then other manifestations, the World might grow careless and secure from expecting any evil from the hand of God, or any punishment for iniquity more then what a godly man himself may have by the same strokes: And if this principle should be true, what reason have the Malignants or Papists to look any more into Gods hand on them, or to think their cause the worse because Providence overthrows their Armies, why should any cry out on them for hardned and obstinate persons, saving they have no more but events to convince them, being still confident of the justness of their cause: And to what end have we kept so many days of Thanks-giving for Victories, if there be nothing in the issues of affairs testifying to the Truth of things, it can be nothing else but a mocking of God to give him solemn praises for that which can neither shew us the goodness of our cause, or Gods peculiar respect to us more then our enemies; for we have no more witness to the Truth of our Principles then they have, save our confidence, which is as firm and stablished in them as us: Let our Brethren look and remember what expressions they used formerly in their thanks-giving sermons, both before the Parliament, in the City, and up and down all the Kingdom, for any show of a Victory, when the Army was commanded by the Lord of *Essex*, when any party was routed under Sir *William Waller*, or any of the first Commanders, though we lost it as soon as we gained it, and they were far from the Victories are now despicably called *Events of War*;

with what affection and zeal did they prove the equity of our fighting against the King by these mediums; it became a common expression at such days, *That our God was not as their God, our enemies themselves being Judges:* and by what should our enemies be judges against themselves for us, but by Gods appearing against them, and ordering the issue of things beyond all their height of confidence and expectation. Many other such like expressions have been with much heartiness expresst in such days, blessing God for owning his people in a day of need, and making a difference between them and their enemies the testimony of all which they gathered from particular successes.

But why trifle we in a matter of such consequence? are all these actings in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* for these many yeers so negligently to be taken notice of only as *Events* of ordinary actings? What can then be called Glorious Appearances of God in this World, or what Victories can we have so much conscience as to write Gods Name as on these? How can a model of the workings of God for his people be drawn in fairer and clearer colours? Had God acted with these that dissent and by these instruments which they had sanctified for the work, though far lower than he hath done with these whom they despise, the world should have another account, and these providences should have been proclaimed in other names then accidents and events, if not the persons canoniz'd long ere this in every Church and Chappel; and if God had permitted such an overture, that the Scots had beaten and overcome our Army at *Dunbar* (which would have been the saddest day that ever Englishmen saw) we need not question but the name of all these former eminent and continued Victories both in *England* and *Ireland*, would be blotted out from the earth, (except these hearts in whom the glory and mercy of them were engraven with the same finger that wrought them) and nothing else but the just judgements of God declared to be executed against the Sectarian Parliament and Army, by Gods faithful and Covenant-keeping people; who can imagine that triumphant conclusion that would then be made of the wickedness of our Cause, Principles, and Persons, of the truth of

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mens railings, and the reason of their discontents; how would all men be exhorted from henceforth to beware upon penalty of the like judgements of God, to withdraw from any complyance or conjunction with these who were the declared enemies of God, against whom he had bent his Bow utterly to destroy; telling all men to consider how God had at last found his secret enemies, and vindicated the cause of his Covenant, especially in *Scotland* where it was made and preserved; we may easily without uncharity guess that a thousand such inferences would soon be drawn from such an event: But seeing God hath given us the use of such an argument, and added that mercy to all the rest with a clearer representation of his face towards us than ever before, why shall we think them common or unclean? are our Victories less precious to us than theirs would be to them? are we more glad to see another Nation conquer us, than we to defeat them in their Designs against us? or can we rejoyce that God useth forraign Instruments in his work, rather than these of our own Nation? How are we degenerated? how surpris'd in our affections, that we should desire more for the Scots to conquer us than for the English to preserve us from them? If we have lost our consciences, yet let us retain our natural affections; and if this Government be evil in our eyes, yet let us have so much wisdom and self-love left, as to prefer it before a Scottish Tyrannie; if our mercies be not in every point and circumstance fashioned according to our model, let us not throw away the substantialls of our Liberties, by maligning and opposing those which are the visible preservers of them.

Let us once again look back upon Gods providences for us, and mind the series of them, with the variety and manner of bringing them forth, and study more the nature of them, for they deserve the most refinedness of our thoughts to be set on them, and the purest place in our hearts to have them registred; if every fly and gnat, every piece of dung and filth shews forth something of God to be observed by us, what do these choise unparalleld workings of him against the Powers of this world, who stand in his way to the advancement of his Sons Throne?

God writes his mind sometimes in his Works, as well as in

his Word, and there are many overtures in Civil affairs which the Word doth not ſo poſitively direct, but providence and the neceſſity of affairs muſt be the rule in; and how ever the providences of God are not demonſtrations *a priori* (as they ſay) yet they may very well be *a poſteriori*; though they do not ſtate things, yet they do diſtinguiſh them; and as God will rather have *heaven and earth to paſs away, then one* iota *or tittle of his Word to fail*, ſo he will have all men to give him the glory of his Works, elſe he will deſtroy all the civil Heavens and earths which men ſets up; and God blames his people as often for not obſerving his Works as for diſobeying his Statutes: If the permiſſive acts of Gods juſtice in the world ought to make all men fear and tremble, how much more theſe poſitive and effectual aſſiſtances of Inſtruments in executing his righteous judgements? the children of Iſrael were blamed for nothing more, than that *they forgat the wonders of God at the red Sea, and in the Wilderneſs:* But that we may not look on theſe things at large, let us view what have been accompanying all our tranſactions in theſe laſt yeers, which make them more than events to convince our ſpirits. Firſt, all that God hath yet acted for us, hath been from the ſmalleſt and contemtibleſt beginnings, that even wiſe men have been afraid of their own Acts, and our enemies have laughed in ſecret at us, ſeeing our ruine in our firſt foundation; and ſo weak we were, that we were rather objects of the pity of our friends, and ſcorn of the contrary party; who would ever have imagined that ſuch a new Model ſhould have thriven better than ſo great and well accompliſh'd Army which preceded? or what could wiſe men either fore-ſee or Chriſtians believe concerning any great matters to be accompliſhed by ſuch Pigmies?

Secondly. As God took the loweſt condition to begin this work, ſo he ever brought our eſtates unto the greateſt ſtraits ere he appeared; to point out to all men, that he would be alone ſeen in the proſecution of this cauſe, and that he would have the glory of making this Nation a Common-wealth. In *England* remember eſpecially *Naſeby*, when the King was the higheſt that ever he was ſince the war began, where was the

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first experiment of Gods engaging with them; at *Kent*, *Essex*, *Wales*, especially at *Preston*, when the Nation was most divided, and incented against these proceedings, and our Army scarce a third part. In *Ireland*, when all was lost but two Towns, *Dublin* and *Derry*. But above all in *Scotland*, when we fed on our Vital Spirits more than Bread, and lived by our courage and Gods support more than food; how hath God helped? I have often looked on it as an absolute and general observation in Gods actings, that he never brings his enemies into straits to help them, but it is his usual way where he means to make his providence glorious, and his people most praising, to let them be past saving in their own sense, and their enemies hopes: and truly our Victories were seldom given, until not only our means, but almost our faith failed us.

Thirdly, these successes have been uniform and universal in every part, and against every party which have upon any pretence whatever banded themselves against this State, and their transactions; yea so evenly hath God gone forth, and so impartially, that how ever we may at first question the principles, we cannot deny the acts but to be from God: Yea not only height of Royalty, and the grosness of Malignancy, but the flourishes of the best pretenses have been blasted and overthrown by these manifestations, the Church as well as the World have been under a Divine censure for opposing themselves and complying with the first or new modell'd enemy against this State; which may make all godly hearts serious and wary, if not to tremble at their fire and heat in their reflections on these things. If these things be not timely considered, but our obstinacy grows with Gods admonitions, the next work will be Excommunication.

Fourthly, all these works we now see, have been begotten and brought forth in the midst of the plots of open and secret enemies; plots laid so secret and sure, that nothing but he that discovers the hidden things of darkness could discern or prevent; and so hath God ordered and casted the season of our deliverances, that they have been beyond the enemies designes and perfectest perswasions, and our expectations of the most observant spectators, that God might have all the glory: Who could

could imagine what hath been working in hell, and the corners of darkneſs againſt this work of God now in part brought forth, and yet all diſappointed and fruſtrated, with condigne punishment on the heads of principal Authors

It will be endleſs to run over the variety of theſe diſcoveries, and other circumſtances, which if well conſidered, are as much as the mercies themſelves amount unto.

The laſt great demonſtration of Gods preſence with this Army in *Scotland*, may ſerve *inſtar omnium* to Uniting our confidences, if all the reſt be of no value; which was, *Gods determination of the juſtneſs of our Cauſe after ſolemn appeal to God on both ſides, eſpecially on ours*; this being the publique expreſſion of our Army in that candid Remonſtrance, ere they entred *Scotland*; *that they did appeal to God, the righteous Judge of quick and dead, if their hearts were not ſincere in what they remonſtrated, and in their affections to that Nation, and did* moreover *put it only on God, if ever they came to engagement (pardoning human infirmities) to deal with them, according to the juſtneſs of their Cauſe, and the truth of their hearts*, I quote this eſpecially, becauſe as it was the moſt ſolemn appeal to Divine Juſtice, ſo what God did in this, was the confirmation of all the reſt of his publique actings by them, and the Umpire only left to God to own them or deſtroy them as his wiſdom, and juſtice ſaw their hearts, and cauſe; how was Gods arm made bare for them at laſt, though he carried himſelf a long while, as if he meant to make good the reproches of their enemies againſt them. It muſt be confeſt, Appeals are of a very high, and dangerous nature, if not done with the greateſt ſeriosity, and upon the ſureſt grounds; and they do either argue abundance of carnal confidence, or integrity and pureneſs of ſpirit; that they ought not to be frequent, and common, but where no other way is or can be found out of deciding controverſies of a high and controvertible nature, where confidence on both ſides are equally poſitive, and immoveable by mediate arguments: yea, It is without queſtion, trivial and common affaires cannot be grounds of Appeal to God, there being thouſands of other wayes at hand to determine them. But in matter of war, and the grand deciſions of the juſtice and equity

equity of taking up Arms and entring Nations or opposing persons in great power in the world, where arguments are strong on both sides, and parties violent, if in such case Appeals be solemnly made to God, the issue of such affairs are to be accounted higher then nature, and truly to be judged as revelations of Gods will, at least at present, and to that affair which they appealed to God in; as only righteous to give verdict unto by his own appearance, since all other meanes of conviction failed. Much of the same nature is that determination by lots, though it be more mediate, and not so solemn, being but generally used, and often without sense from whom the dispoal of them are, yet the issue is judged to be from God, and an absolute expres of his mind and will, not of blind Fortune or Chance; much more then may we say of the issue of that Appeal, which was made with as much sense of unworthiness, and vileness in themselves, as confidence of their integrity, and willingness to let God judge; as also when it was made, in dealing with these who had laid all the reproches that malice could invent, or fiery zeal vomit upon both their Cause and persons, what ever the secrets of God may be which are infinite depths (or what ever he may permit in the generall rule of the world, yet if men are put to such straits in actings, their names so vilified that none but God can right them, and men have at the same time so much sense of Gods justice, and faith in his truth, as to make him sole umpire, God will not in justice condemn the righteous, and spare the wicked; for these appeals as they are extraordinary ejaculations of our spirits in the most difficult and doubtful causes, so they are pressings of the Almighty to let forth the beams of his wisdom and justice, to convince the sons of men, after all experiments of nature and reason; and God is so put to it (if I may humbly expres it) to give forth righteous judgement, that even the heathens and his enemies have found his appearance, when they have appealed to him against the Christians who owned God, and had not dealt justly with them. I would not be thought to circumscribe the wisdom of God or his justice, that it must of necessity alwayes be manifested immediately on such Appeals, but I affirm that it is Gods usual way, and the events of them are to be weighed and remembred

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again and again, as the moſt probable cleering up of hard and formerly queſtionable enterpriſes; when the Army went into *Scotland*, how were they vilified by that Nation? laden with reproches of the higheſt ſcandal and infamy, ſlighted with the baſeſt contempt, as men given over by God, hating his truth and people, and now at laſt invading them, to ſhow their utmoſt malice to that Nation, the Army fly to heaven, leave all to God, and deſire his infinit power to determine whether theſe things were not quite contrary, the Lord looked on their condition, and hath helped them, in the ſight of their enemies; what can we conclude on theſe things? are theſe only acts of permiſſion towards us, and of meer patience and long-ſuffering? what can be more apparent that we acted upon right and juſt principles and to honeſt ends; ſeeing God himſelf, who was made the Judge, hath given the ſentence?

We may remember, and know the nature and ominouſneſs of Appeals with trembling, by Gods actings to the late King, and his, who to make his deſignes take the better with the people, in every declaration Appeals to God ſo to deal with him, and his, as he was true to the Proteſtant Intereſt, when he had Papiſts in his boſom as his cheif Councellors, and that he never intended to raiſe war againſt the Parliament, when all his end of with-drawing from them, was to form an Army againſt them; How hath God Judged both himſelf, and his, for it ever ſince, never leaving to follow him with Judgements, untill he had made himſelf a Publique ſpectacle of his juſtice, and hath now laid aſide all his Family: God may for ſome ſecret ends let his enemies proſper for a long time over his people, to afflict and chaſtiſe them, and make them partakers of his glory; but he never, or very ſeldom after manifold deliverances, and abſolute appeals to his righteouſneſs, hath afforded them aſſiſtance; eſpecially when its among his own people in their controverſies, and truth is on the one ſide, and prejudice on the other. I could (if I were a challenger) dare all the world to ſhow an inſtance after an immediate Appeal, whether God hath not either eminently given the ſentence on the right ſide, or at leaſt, whether upon ſuch iſſue all men have not ſo interpreted it: hath God nothing

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to do with this world? Hath he given over his Supremacy to Fortune and Chance? Or when can God be seen in Determinations, if not after such Addresses to his peculiar Moderation? Where shall the Righteous fly when they are condemned? Or how shall men know that Vengeance only belongs unto God, but by such Divine Conclusions? But we must leave the conclusion to God to confirm, as the Determination in it self; There was much to be observed in the *Scots* Answer to that Clause of our Appeal, rather leaving us to do it, and threatning us upon it than putting their Cause and Confidence on Gods approbation and issue; for whereas they were positive and peremptory enough in their Charges, yet they were very faint and staggering in the manner of Appeal to God, as either fearing their Cause through inward conscience of carnal complyances, or assurance of their own strength to do the work by themselves; it is enough what God hath done, he will in his time either convince or destroy men.

But besides all, (which seems to be more considerable than any yet, after not only Appeals, such yet may be too confident) but after the contradicting prayers of his own people, God hath cast the scale on this side, and made answer according to the Requests of the vilified Party; never was Heaven so much troubled with interests, and oppress with contrary Petitions (if we may modestly express it) then in these few yeers; the Saints formerly have made but one publique cry, *How long, Lord Jesus? Come quickly*; and there hath been a pure harmony in their Addresses to God, though in different conditions; but now heaven suffers a strange kind of violence, the violence of Truth and Error in the same Petitioners; but God hath made the Heavens Brass, and his Ear heavie to all the Prayers even of many of his own People in these Affairs, and ordered Events contrary to their prayers. I know in what causes God may do this, but when Saints and Saints shall pray, and God answer only the one, the other may well look round about them.

If any one question why I put so much light on this? It's answered, that there is nothing more cleer, that where his People are engaged in several parties, some by mistakes and ignorance of Gods mind, others out of Truth, and they both pray to him, God will alwaies hear those prayers which are most according to his mind, and give forth issues answerable; for all our prayers are no farther to be expected to be answered, then they are according to Gods Will, and that Will of God doth manifest the truth of our prayers; when prayers clash in heaven, it is the same with opinions and judgements of Saints on earth concerning Gods mind, which have but one truth to rule them, and according to the consonancy of apprehensions to that, God owns or dis-owns all their actings.

It is most sad and dangerous to do any publique act wherein any which are godly shall dissent, much more that which any of them shall pray against; and this very consideration hath made this Parliament, and the Army to make so many pausings in their actings, as fearing themselves and their own mistakes, when so many good men seem to be against them; yet it is as sad, and should be much weighed, that God should continually answer one sort of prayers, and quite neglect the other, when they come both from godly persons whom God loves: What one petition hath God ever seemed to receive as made by his own Spirit against these proceedings? but hath cleerly demonstrated that at least he is angry with the dissenting Prayers of his own people: I leave these things on mens Consciences, how they can interpret Gods actings against their prayers, and how they can digest Gods hearing of these they judge their enemies, at the same time, and work out contrary issues. All these considerations put together, may suffice to work us to a mediation at least of what God hath done, and to parley with our own hearts, why we should yet refuse our full consent to the establishment of this Commonwealth; shall any that professeth the name of Christ main-

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tain secret war and malice against his actings, or think to prosper by helping the common enemy.

But if nothing yet said will move us to have better thoughts of these Transactions, let us once again consider in what times these things are done, against whom, and by whom. First, all these workings have been in the latter days, when God is throwing down the old heavens and earth, and hath his notable designs to effect, and all these mysteries of Prophecies to open, which have lain hid for many ages, and seemed formerly quite buryed in the prosperity of the Kings and Princes of this world.

Secondly, against whom hath God appeared, but against those persons both in Church and State, who hath adorned this Nation with the raggs of Popery and Antichristian fine, or with Tyrannie and Oppression: and as they have railed themselves, God hath discovered them; and as they have shifted their Quarters, God hath followed them with his just displeasure and indignation against any complyers with them.

Thirdly, however God may permit for a long while his enemies to triumph, yet when ever he begins, he will make an end; and these principles which seem general and easie at the first, God will improve, and hath done, beyond all our intentions; for it was hardly possible in the multitude of these overtures, to lay any deep plot before-hand of them, new and unexpected emergencies of their designes, and Gods providence always on a sudden breaking forth, which were not only difficult to fore-see, but fruitful to withstand. And truly, those that think of plots deeply laid before-hand to bring out these great things, may as well suspect the Providences by which they have been necessarily led into them.

Fourthly, for however we may make little account of providences, yet they are the most exact comments on divine prophecies of any other, and are the special visible key whereby God opens all those seals that are in that book: and what ever special inspirations we may have from heaven to guess at Gods intent, yet the words are so dark wherein God hath

written his mind of these affairs, and so blurred by Antichrist, that until God come to open them by his actings, we know not how to interpret them with safety or comfort; hence it hath come to pass, that many pages must now be blotted out of many worthy and learned (and in most things) cleer Comments on *Daniel* and the *Apocalypse*, because every day God acts beyond their present thoughts, and gives occasion of reforming their own confident apprehensions of the nature and time of those prophesies; so that if Gods providences, compared with his words of prophesie be not looked into, we must still be in the dark, as to the understanding of these great mysteries: by what can we hope that God is about to fulfil his word concerning the destruction of Antichrist but by his keen, and severe prosecution of every limb and member of that body, yea and beginning first among his own people, that the enemies may not have cause to reflect, and tell God to reform first at home; how can we know that God is pouring out the via's of his wrath, and upon whom, but as God discovers it by his terrible actings among the sons of men, by which he cals on all men to hear and obey, not to murmure or dissent? But if the manifestation of God (notwithstanding all this seem uncleer and unpersuasive to dissenters to gain their full consent to this Common-wealth, let our own interest prevail upon us and if heaven be too light, let earth be added to it to weigh down our judgements; God hath given us an opportunity against our wills, to make our selves the freest and happyest Nation on this earth, and we are the first of so large a Continent that God hath advantaged with such a blessing; our Ancestors for these 500. yeers have bin strugling to get but the name of freedom and liberty, and have for this end deposed one King, and set up another, who had commonly a worse title and reign, but God hath given us our choice, whether royal bondage, or English liberty; were we ever so nigh the regaining our conquer'd priviledges as now? what is there but a name between us and a Free-State and nothing wanting to perfect all (besides Gods assistance to prosecute what is begun, and direct what is not done) but our own election of what may make us happy, which happiness if we imagine consists only in the title of a king

among us; let us remember what we have ſpent on that name already of our meaſure of bloud, and how God hath made it contemptible.

We may all now ſee how Gods great deſign is to bring to nought the Princes of this world, and hath his principal quarrel with them, becauſe they have bin the greateſt ſhedders of the bloud of Saints that cries under the Altar, and the only mighty upholders of the throne of the Beaſt, and are ſtill thoſe that lies in Chriſts way to his royal Throne, and the glorious exerciſe of his Kingly power ſhall be firſt on the Powers of this world, who have combined together againſt the Lord and his Anointed, and have bin the moſt undermining and profeſt enemies that Chriſt and his Saints have had in the world; and all thoſe that ſeek to underprop that tottering ſtate, muſt expect to fall with it; for God hath either laid aſide or deſtroyed the beſt ſort of men, who (though with never ſo much tenderneſs or zeal) put forth a hand to uphold this Monarchy; and if ever *Haman* begin to fall before *Mordecai*, he never riſeth more but to his utter ruine. What is it that lies ſo weighty on our ſpirits, that no providence, no argument can ballance? I wiſh it were not to be feared of many, they have made ſnares for their Conſciences, and then catch themſelves willingly in them. Are not the dayes of Mourning for the late King yet expired, and our hearts refreſhed by what God hath acted ſince in theſe three Nations? Its now high time for us to wean our hearts from the flaſhy raviſhments of Names and Titles, when we have ſo long ſuffered for our affections; Surely if we were impartial Judges of that Act (which I may call the firſt cleer and thorow Act of Juſtice that ever was executed in the Weſtern World) and if we did (like good and wiſe men) obſerve the nature and fruit of Actings, we ſhall find, that as never an Act of Juſtice was accompanyed with more remarkable obſervations, and bleſt with more happy Teſtimonies of Approbation, then the beheading the late King. Beſides the righteous grounds upon which they gave ſentence of death againſt him, which when looked into,

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we had rather need to wonder such a Head should stand on his shoulders, then that it was solemnly severed from it, being one who was the Author of the shedding so much blood in three popolous Nations, meerly for his prerogative tyranny, for all other things he might have had, and much of that also, with the hearts of all good subiects.

But the circumstances (if they doe not deserve a better name) in his execution may inform us something more then ordinary if we shut not our eyes.

First that God should so order it to bring him to his death, and shed his blood before that very place where the first blood in this war was shed, while he looked out through that window with sport: God doth sometimes write mens sins in their punishments.

Secondly that in so populous and vast a City, among millions of his most intire, and desperate friends, there should not be found the least tumult, or motion, or insurrection for to relcue him, all men being under a divine restraint, and awed by the dreadfulnes of Gods justice in such an act; what was that poor Army who were dispersed up, and down the City, to the legions of enemies that were against them, who might have destroied them in a moment and eat them up at one morsel?

I am loath to strain these things too far, but only to name them, to make us consider, that they are not ordinary, It was one of the great circumstances named in the childrens of Israels deliverances out of *Egypt*, that not a dog did bark at them, but doubtless never was such an act of such concerment done since that time in the world with less noise, and silence then that, which argues that something more then humane, was at the doing of it; and which may not be omitted, God hath not suffered the least hair of the heads of any of the prime Instruments in that glorious piece of service, to be touched by any Assassinate, notwithstanding all the threatnings and bloudy malice that works strongly in dissolute and desperate spirits.

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And if we have had but any eyes to view the consequences, and issues of it, we cannot say but that there is at least occasion of seriousness, and ponderousness of spirit, ere we have a thought amiss concerning the lawfulness and justness of it, for as until that time, we did but trifle, and dally with the sword, and were but off and on, up and down, more in hazards then hopes; so from that day hath God blest us, and without intermission or hak, freely fought our battels, and intirely engaged himself in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*; and which is more, hardly a drop of blood hath been spilt in *England* on that Quarrel ever since, as if God should say, the sacrifice is offered up, the *Achan* is destroyed, my wrath is appeased, all the blood you shed before was an aggravation of your sin, while that person who was the Author of all, and the common person, and head to give life and motion to all the rest was untouched; in such a dialect God seems to speak to open and attentive ears by all his actings since; I leave these as considerations to employ second and more serene thoughts upon: yet if any be of so tender Conscience in that particuler that they still scruple, let them not judge others who are clearly satisfied; they have their liberty of dissent, yet let them know they are bound to present dutyes, which if we had but a faculty of arguing, how easie might we draw the necessity of cutting of the late King? commune with your own thoughts; was not he guilty of all the blood which hath been so prodigally spilt among us? It must either ly on him or the Parliament, if on the Parliament, we condemn our selves for joyning with them, and we are partakers of the same murther; if it lay on the King, what way had we to free this Nation of the guilt, but letting him bear his own punishment, all other acts of friendship would be but contracting of his guilt on us, for as there be two ways of making a man guilty, either by his own personal act, or by complyance with another, which is done by countenancing the malefactor, as by coacting with him, as he that keepes a murtherer in his house, and gives him any countenance, is in law made equally guilty with him; It would have been thus with our Parliament had they gone on in any other way then

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to preserve this nation, but by revenging blood with blood: for how ever publique wars may seeme to be an excuse and mitigation of guilt of killing of man, yet its the cause that gives the advantage of innocency and righteousnes in these acts, & the wrong cause make all the rest murtherers in Gods sight, and he will prosecute them as murtherers, especially the prime agents in such affairs; yet all meanes was used to the utmost, until we had almost lost our selves, and the sence of our cause, again let us seriously contemplate what good we could have of such a person after all his high and bloody actings against this Nation, when he refused to grant the propositions of the Parliament so necessary for this Nation, and only shewing a willingness to grant some of them, and that only for time which would of it self pass away, and which he meant by all designs to cut as short as he could; the best advantage that ever we could have hoped to have by that persons life, was but a cessation of our miseries, until he had recruited and perfected his designes, and patcht a peace, with the utter loss both of the sense and fruit of the first undertakings; and here let us make a stop, and pause with sad, and mournful hearts on the condition of poor *Germany*, who after all their powerful wrestlings with tyranny in a long and horrid war, have got nothing but a miserable peace, and the protestant interest left to shift for it self, and strangers that came first to help them have made up their own gaines with their utter ruine; let *Bohemia* especially speak, where the Protestants hath hardly an article for their prosperity, but what is general, of little advantage, and the Emperour, and *Swerds*, (like the *Storg*, and their King,) divide all amongst themselves; the Papists, and great men mest followed the Emperour, and the Protestants the *Swede*, for friendly assistance and brotherly pretence, and now they have made a peace both for themselves; and thus would it have been with us if God had not raised up some instrument to have no respect of persons; let *Germanies* example be an occasion to us to think on the King and the *Scots*, while we slight the mention of a Common-wealth, which God hath given us all advantages to make not only sure, but the freest and choisest in *Europe*.

And if any be afflicted at this change, as that which seems to be dangerous and unnaturall, and putting by the heire of the Crowne; I hope they are not ignorant, how many changes have been in *England* by the tyranny and usurpations of Kings, and of forraigne powers over us, but never yet had we the happinesse to change into a Commonwealth, although our best histories tell us, that the first of this Nation when they were most free, was without Kings; but we need not be so stumbled at this change, seeing the necessity and conveniensie of it, and that it is only change of persons and not of the Lawes, and priviledges by which we are governed, which were long since, and yet at divers times purchased by the blood of our auncestors, rather then the goodnesse of our Princes; and if we look warily, we must needs see all the series of Gods actings have directly led us to this change, which we have been prest unto by the necessity of our owne affaires, and the continual dictates of Gods providences; and who hath resisted his will, we see by experience, that God changes all mens states, as they oppose, or fall in with it; But yet if the thoughts of the Covenant be brought in as the main objection, why many cannot so freely joyn in with the Common wealth; I must commend the tendernesse of their consciences, but not their wisedome, and understanding, in making a difference between things, and persons, and judging of the nature of obligations. No former covenant can hinder me from obedience to a present duty, and serving my generation according to speciall opportunities; obedience to civill powers, is a duty at present, and must not be superseded by any former engagement, without a sin: two sins instead of one; a sin in omitting my duty, and a sin in covenanting not to do it; As for that clause in the Covenant of maintaining the Kings Person, 'tis sufficiently explained, and limited in the next words (in the preservation of Religion, and liberties) both which have been publickly Voted inconsistent, and the one positively necessary for preservation; And when we Covenant to maintain his person, we suppose to find in it such a capacity as not opposite to Religion or liberties, nor to an

found in the left Article among delinquents against the State, which we have covenanted to endeavour to bring to condigne punishment, under which capacity the Parliament have found the late King, and his Son *CHARLES STUART*; and under that account prosecuted him, and kept the Covenant, as every honest Christian must doe in all the rest of the Articles, that seem to be dark without they be made the interpreters one of another; and however we may gnaw on the Covenant, and rifle it to maintain our prejudices, yet we may better take the Engagement to this Common-wealth, notwithstanding the Covenant, then take up Armes against the King notwithstanding the Oath of Allegiance; for that Oath did absolutely, without any limitation (as is fully exprest in the Covenant) bind us to the maintainance of the Kings Person, and Heires, yet when our dissenting friends, came to perswade the people to helpe the Parliament against the King, they could make little of that Oath, yea, could goe quite against the letter of it, to prevent a mischiefe, and raise a necessary war against his person, while they kept their Oath to defend his person; and is that lawfull and honest to take up Armes, and raise a dreadfull war against his personall capacity, notwithstanding a solemne Oath in such distinguishing termes, onely out of pretence to preserve his publique capacity which is greater, that is the state; and is it not the same, and may it not be done with as good conscience to remove his person, to preserve Religion, and liberties, both which if they were not in eminent danger, let all men judge; in a word, no more doth the Covenant hinder me from taking the Engagement, then the Protestation did men from taking the Covenant, though there were many other words of a different dialect inserted into it.

Had the Parliament imposed on the consciences of godly, and honest spirits any new Articles of the Creed, or an Ecclesiastical government, without any tenderness to godly consciences, or drawne a new Model of Religion, and required obedience of all unto it; this great piece of intolerable Tyranny could have no more raised the spirits of some or exas-

exasperated mens passions, then the imposing an Engagement to a Civil government; which hath nothing of sin in it to reflect any guilt upon the consciences of any, seing all Civil Governments are alike lawful in themselves, the conveniency of them, and good use, makes them profitable, yet disobedience to them is sinful, it being a resistance of an Ordinance of God. And therefore it cannot but be worthy of much blame (though to be lamented also) that Ministers of the Gospel (those that should be the blessed Messengers of peace, and joy) should make their Pulpits Stages of bitternesse, and Satyrs against the present Authority; this hath hapned much among us of late, (through the pride of mens hearts and instigations of subtile enemies) that these good Ministers who in other things have had the *Urim* and *Thummim*, shining with much brightnesse on their breasts, yet have made their Sermons, like the malignant sort of Diurnals, that when poore soules come hungring, and thirsting to heare something of the *Lord Jesus* to refresh their sad hearts, they finde little else but Historles of Civil affaires, revilings, and defamings of authorityes, and casting fire balls of sedition, up and downe Congregations, to incense mens spirits against the present Government.

This is one of the greatest reasons which I can by observance finde out that the Ministry is so low, and in such contempt, because they mingle Christ and this world so promiscuously together, and do not keep within the bounds of the Gospel, in their publique preachings to the world. But speake more in the language the of Stage, then of a crucified Christ, and this makes many withdraw from the publique assemblies, because they can heare little but cavils in Pulpits, and Christ in private houses; I wish the honour of the Ministry might shine in the glory of the Gospel for other respects, they will finde them to be but temptations, and hinderances to their worke.

Is there any thing else which stands in our way, (for shrewes must be removed as well as reall blockes before prejudiced eyes) are there any complaining, wee are yet vexed, and oppresst: Let these men answer themselves

that if they will have a ſettlement, they muſt contribute to the procuring of it; for while every one divides, who ſhall ſettle? If they cry out of oppreſſions; its very unjuſt, they ſhould expect otherwiſe, who will not come under protection; as its moſt unreaſonable any ſhould deſire protection, who will not engage to be ſerviceable to promote the Common-wealth.

I ſhall end with propoſing ſome Queries to zealous, and honeſt men, with a word of application from what is done in *Scotland*, and no more trouble the Reader in this kinde.

Firſt, Whether muſt there bee an act of oblivion paſt, for all the mercies, and victories wee have had over the common, or ſecret enemies of this State? or to what uſe ſhall wee put all theſe wonders?

Secondly, What lower improvement could there have been of ſo much bloud, and continuall deceipt among us, by the name of the King, and his family, but a cutting off the one, and racing out the name of the other? or whether ever any peace with theſe perſons could bee found, or acceptable, without ſome ſpeciall ſacrifice of them to Juſtice? let it lye on our conſciences.

Thirdly, Whither wee can imagine that God had not higher ends then wee firſt propoſed in our engaging againſt the King, or then what could bee at firſt by us foreſeene? or whither any condeſcenſion in us could have gaind him, without hazard, and loſſe of our maine liberties, and priviledges.

Fourthly, Whither the providences of God, (ſeeing they have been ſo peculiarly acted,) are not to be guides and rules to us in proſecuting a generall and indefinite principle? or how wee can with comfort ſatisfie our ſelves in civill quarrells, but by providentiall events, or what is that event wee thinke moſt demonſtrative of Gods minde, if theſe are not?

Fifthly, Upon what hinge will wee turne the doore of our affaires, if not upon the continuall, and daily manifeſtations of God? having our end, and principle right?

right? or whither any person, or power can foresee all the turnings and changes in a multiplyed affaire, without some leading providence of *Jehovah*.

Sixthly, Whether is the better foundation for action, a supposed principle with contrary actings of providence, or the like supposed principles, with extraordinary lettings forth of Gods power, and Majestie.

But what need wee querie, humors, and discontents will soone turne all these expostulations to encouragements; wee are now (through Gods blessing) come to a period at home, all the expectations of our enemies, is from the broken reed of *Scotland*, but the vaile is now off, the malignant party is but retired there under another head, and if wee may beleeve the *Scots* themselves, and those which are accounted the honest party, and their Remonstrances; wee have nothing to fight against, but the malignant party in *Scotland*, the honest party, who were first deluded, being first subdued, and now, beyond the water, they are put to the shifts of a generall complyance, which will be no discouragement to us, as formerly; for then wee fought against many pretenders to the Covenant, and who were with a conscience engaged, (and yet God esteemed it not) but now wee have a full marke, the old enemy newly crowned, and all things made up in *Scotland* to follow this designe. But I hope *Englishmen* can doe no lesse then the honest *Scots* have done, remonstrate against those proceedings, and yet God makes them know that bare Remonstrance, against that party, without union with Gods instruments, will not serve, but there must be an unanimous correspondency of all good men against these shifting zealots: And wee have now a more ground of hope against them; if God hath owned us when they seemed to keepe at a distance from the malignant party, and to fix their principle on a surer, and more cleare foundation, how will he now appeare for his people, when they have past thorough all delusions, and are to meete againe, with their old enemy, but what horror of spirit will fall on these good men, who will rather venture themselves, with

with malignant assistances, then comply with Gods workings.

I have no more to say, he that cannot trust God now with our cause, hath either too much interest, or too much ignorance, after all the wayes God hath taken to open our eyes. Let our Parliament, and Army, never doubt encouragement, but keepe up their spirits high for Gods ends, seeing they have none now to encounter, but their old enemies, without any pretence, that may trouble their consciences, or delay their marches; And let godly men know (who stand yet out) as God hath done all for us without them, so he will now more especially, because they are now under the first consideration, and must come under the same viall, and at least expect the sprinkling of it, while they have any conjunction with that party, which God hath devoted to destruction; if our consciences be not quite asleepe, and if wee have any sensiblenesse of our present advantages, and future miseries, let us set our seales to Gods actings, and rejoyce in the Lords will so gloriously manifested, and not strive against the streame of providences, but as men convinced by God, not by men, engage our selves to maintaine this Common-wealth, which is the onely Bulwarke left us, both to keepe out tyranny, and preserve our liberties, which in due time wee shall have most free, and stablished, if our owne fond affections to strangers, and prejudices of our friends, doe not undoe all.

FINIS.